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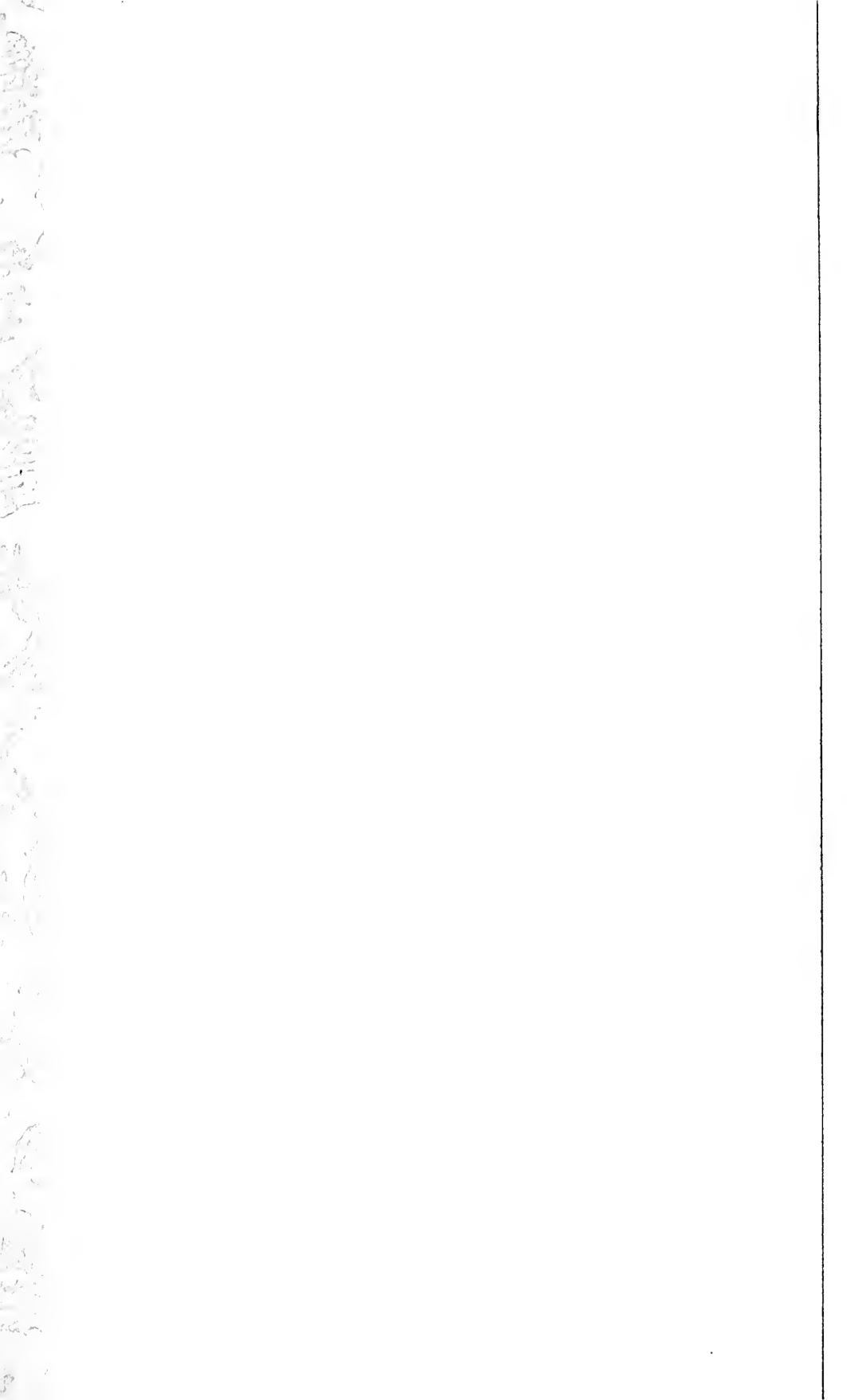


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HOHENZOLLERN

DYNASTY

CLAY MacCAULEY









Compliments of the Author

THE  
HOHENZOLLERN DYNASTY;  
MOTIVE AND MOVEMENT

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Meekness is weakness:  
Force is triumphant:  
All through the world  
Still it is Thor's day.

*x. Cr. Longfellow*  
*Ralph Waldo Emerson.*

Christianity—and this is its highest merit—has in some degree softened, but it could not destroy that—German joy of battle. Thor, with his giant's hammer, will at last spring up and shatter to bits the Gothic cathedrals.

*Heinrich Heine.*

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CLAY MACCAULEY

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*Mita, Tokyo, Japan*

1916

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## PREFATORY NOTE.

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I suppose that, as a matter of course, the main judgment which I have drawn from the studies summarized in this little book, has been given by many others: but it has not happened to me to meet it just as here presented. I have long believed that the present German Empire came into being as the result of an aggressive dynastic movement whose beginnings lay in the far past in the ambitious dreamings of the ruler of a petty German State; and whose growth, through centuries of national vicissitudes, had been made preserving and advancing all the while the original motive. Now, that this dynastic aggression has been so directed as to involve most of the leading peoples of the world in a war of unprecedented violence and devastation, I have ventured to bring together here some of the facts which confirm and illustrate my judgment,

hoping thereby to contribute somewhat to the understanding, recently growing clear, of the inner meaning of the awful conflict; and, possibly, to give aid to those who are struggling to defend the nations from the peril threatening them.

I was resident for three years in Germany directly after the founding of the German Empire that now is. I had excellent opportunities, then, for seeing the spreading of the influence among the South German States of the aims and methods of Hohenzollern Prussia. I did not discern the full purport of the expansion of the arrogant autocracy, but I saw enough to be aroused with the feeling that it bode ill for political freedom and popular government in the States gathered under the new dominion; and I felt, also, that the Empire which had been begun would become a formidable, even though not the master sovereignty among the world's peoples. The reading at that time of a novel of the day, which I have recalled in the following pages, gave peculiar vivid-

ness to my foreboding. But, of course, I did not then foresee any such rapid maturing of purpose as came with the accession to the Imperial throne of the present Kaiser ; or apprehend any such speedy and ruthless titanic assault upon the liberties and rights of mankind as is now being made.

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In the preparation of these pages, I have not cited very many of the voluminous pertinent historical items available ; but I have recalled enough of them, I believe, to make plain what I must judge is inherently true of the motive and movement of The Dynasty of the Hohenzollerns.

Most of the historical facts used, I have taken from articles appearing in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, and from Dr. George P. Fisher's "Outlines of Universal History." For other quotations, I have named the authorities along with their statements.

In passing now to its readers what I have written, I wish to say further that, I

am very unwilling, at any time, even to seem to be a stirrer up of strife ; but, as the course of events is at present, I see much more in the awful European conflict than just a struggle among ambitious dynasties and rival nations for some gain for their covetousness or ambition. I see cherished liberty, individual and social, together with popular and representative government among all nations, long labored for and hard won,—I see all these treasures seriously imperilled. It is because I am solicitous for what I believe to be furtherance of the rightful welfare of humanity, and for what will bring to the world's peoples the only peace worth having and keeping, that I repeat my judgment here and make this plea.

CLAY MACCAULEY.

Tokyo, Japan.

March, 1916.

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## The Hohenzollern Dynasty

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“To-day, more than in any other era of human history, the promise has become sure, that the dominion of justice among men and of peace on the earth is to prevail everywhere. Even should this promise fail for the near future, and the present turgid militarism of the Nations, by some evil move in politics, be forced again into active hostilities, its very violence, I dare believe, and the devastation wrought by it in the midst of the splendid achievements of Humanity’s New Internationalism, would then, and only the more speedily, ‘bring deliverance withal.’”

*From “Signs of Peace for the World.”*

CLAY MACCAULEY.

1911.

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“If Germany’s tragedy be, as I think, the deepest of all, the hope is that she, too, will be touched by the Pentecost of Calamity, and pluck her soul from Prussia, to whom she gave it in 1870. Thus shall the curse be lifted.”

*From “The Pentecost of Calamity.”*

OWEN WISTER.

1915.

# THE HOHENZOLLERN DYNASTY; MOTIVE AND MOVEMENT.

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Some time ago I read a story ;—the name of the author and the title have passed from memory. A bit of graphic description in it, however, so interested me, because of passing events, that I copied it.

FINIS GERMANIAE.

“That was the last shot,” said the burgomaster. “It is long since the first was fired in Prague,—a whole generation. Since then, Bohemia has lost two millions out of its three, and in the Rheinpfalz only a fiftieth part of its inhabitants remain. Saxony has lost one million out of its two ; Augsburg does not now count more than eighteen thousand out of its eighty thousand. In our poor Bavaria, two years ago, one hundred villages went up in smoke, aflame. Hessen laments seventeen towns, seven and forty castles and four hundred villages. Germany has been laid waste, torn to pieces, cut off from all seas, left without air, choked and has miserably perished. *Finis Germaniae.*

“He emptied his glass and went home to sleep quietly, for the first time after thirty years,—thirty terrible years.”

As I read this portrayal of the awful desolation that befell Central Europe less than three hundred years ago,—the waste of “The Thirty Years War,”—I knew that I was reading, for use in fiction, only what authentic history more than confirms.

#### THIRTY YEARS OF RAVAGE: 1618-1648.

When the account of that war could at last be made, the population of the German States had fallen from about thirty millions to less than half that number. The barbarities of the struggle had been, in fact, indescribable. Even the unarmed populace was treated with brutal ferocity. I read that “cities, villages, castles, and dwellings innumerable were burned to the ground;” that the many communities “were given up to the unbridled passions of a fierce and greedy soldiery;” and that the country “was in many places reduced almost to a desert.” Commerce and industry were practically destroyed. Politically the country was in chaos. All semblance of real unity had disappeared from the German peoples, and their medieval Empire had become a domain composed of many hundreds of petty States, having no interdependence, all giving only a nominal allegiance to a figure-head Emperor; each little

sovereignty making for itself such general agencies as laws, coins, and weights and measures ; each supporting a more or less insignificant army, and each proclaiming absolute government for its ruler. Indeed, the burgomaster, in the novel from which I have quoted seemed to have passed an irrevocable judgment,—“ *Finis Germaniae !* ”

Yet, as all know now, in this same Germany, empire has reappeared,—empire, far more extended, far more populous and far mightier than that of the hapless States making the Imperial Germany of the Seventeenth Century ; and this new empire is to-day portentously at war with almost all the other nations of Europe, arousing by its implacable aggressiveness the concern of the whole world.

#### A SIGNIFICANT NOVEL.

Recalling this marvellous historic contrast, the query naturally came to me,—How was this enormous change brought about ; and what does Germany’s present stupendous war portend ? I remembered, then, the reading of another story, more than forty years ago, when I was a student at Heidelberg University. At that time, I became deeply interested in the book because of its exposition of a momentous purpose evidently stirring the mind of its author. Again and again, during the years that have passed since then, I have thought over current events with that

story's purpose in memory. I recall now but little of the book, except that, without mentioning the Franco-Prussian war just closed, or the newly proclaimed Empire of Germany, the story, whose action lay in a distant past, was an enthusiastic glorification of the vision of one famous German ruler, of a dynasty to come from his own family which should be dominant over all Germanic peoples and supreme among the governments of the nations around it.

#### THE HOHENZOLLERN VISION.

The story represented life in the castle of one of the Hohenzollern electors, that of the first,—Fred erick of Nuremberg,—I think, in the mid-Fifteenth Century. It was, in general, an entertaining recital of the doings of brave knights and fair women ; a tale of love's joys and woes ; of struggles and fatesful issues. But, through it all, moved the person of the Elector, constantly dreaming of the rise of his domain, in some future, to Imperial grandeur ; his descendant successors holding the throne by warrant of absolute sovereignty, and enforcing their will with irresistible power. Published, as the story was, almost contemporaneously with the founding of the German Empire that now is, over which a lineal descendant and true heir of the Hohenzollern family of Brandenburg had just been proclaimed the divinely favored ruler, the book became notably significant to me as an interpreter

of the memorable event ; and it opened the way to a satisfying answer to the question I had asked.

#### REAL CAUSE OF TO-DAY'S GREAT WAR.

I see the German Empire of to-day at war with nearly all the nations around it, essentially, because of its pursuit of the purpose which long ago became the motive force of the House that holds practical dictatorship in the Empire's career.

#### THE HOHENZOLLERNS IN HISTORY.

Let the following pertinent sequence of facts be associated with the assertion just made. Historically, it is true that, five hundred years ago, a small province among the many hundreds of petty German States, then,—the Margravate, or Electorate of Brandenburg, when it was almost on the verge of political extinction,—was transferred, in gratitude for certain services, by its lord, the Emperor Sigismund, to a South German count, Frederick of Nuremberg, a member of the old princely House of Hohenzollern. This gift was made in the year 1415. On October 1st of the last year, 1915, a lineal descendant and heir of that favored Hohenzollern Count, now ruler of Imperial Germany, sent the following reply to a congratulatory telegram received from his Prussian Ministry :—

“ My warmest thanks to the Ministry of State for its inspiring words by which it renewed on the day of the 500th anniversary of the reign of my House over Brandenburg its vow of loyalty. In reviewing half a thousand years of Brandenburg-Prussian history, God’s guidance appears to have been wonderful. Across the depths and the heights, my House has been raised from the Electoral hat to the Imperial crown ; and a small Mark to the centre of the German Empire, whose strength and power have been so brilliantly proved to friend and foe in the present war of the nations, the greatest of all times.

“ With full humility, I acknowledge, together with the German people, that thus far the Lord has helped us. May he henceforth graciously assist us and guide the German people who stand together, united and imperturbable, ready for all sacrifices, through the dark days of severe affliction to the bright sunlight of peace ; to new and vigorous work ; *to the road marked out by divine providence.*

#### THE ANCIENT BRANDENBURG MARGRAVES.

From the Fifteenth Century Brandenburg Elector to the Twentieth Century German Emperor-autocrat is an ascent almost immeasurably exalted. Yet, it has been made ; and it was made as the direct culmination of the movement of a political motive which, very early in these centuries, was produced and thereafter was persistently cherished and served.

In the Mark of Brandenburg before it was given to the Hohenzollerns,—from even the Thirteenth Century,—the power of the Margrave was almost unlimit-

ed. His domain possessed an independent importance; and he carried out, so we read, an independent policy in a way not paralleled in any other German Mark. The Emperor was still, of course, the suzerain of the country, yet his relations with it exercised only a small influence towards the shaping of its development. These facts became but the more characteristic of the Electorate when the Hohenzollern was accepted as its lord.

#### THE EARLY HOHENZOLLERNS.

Frederick of Nuremberg proved himself equal to the task he had received. He saved the imperilled Mark from its dangers. He secured a good measure of internal order, and made his subjects feel that the central power was a fact which could not be ignored. During the first century after the Hohenzollern Dynasty in Brandenburg was established, no noticeably important stages were passed, in the development of its distinctive motive. This first ruler, Frederick, however, became a noticeable figure, even in the Imperial politics; and in 1438 he was actually a candidate for the Imperial throne. With good reason the writer of the story I have recalled, glorifying the inception of the aggressive monarchy of the German Empire that in these days has come to be, found in the person of this Elector the prototype of the

over-lord needed to lead in his country's victorious ascent.

His son, Frederick the Second, sought to consolidate his father's strong personal powers and to expand the Electorate, territorially. He conquered Berlin, and built a royal castle inside its walls.

Frederick's brother, Albert (Achilles), who came into power in 1470, enlarged his province considerably, by conquest. His special importance for our retrospect is in the fact that he established the privilege of primogeniture, which, keeping the Brandenburg possessions together, greatly contributed to the furtherance of the Hohenzollern dynastic aim. Towards the end of the century, Berlin became the seat of the Electoral court. Learning was encouraged throughout the realm.

Under the Elector Joachim, Roman law was introduced, thereby improving the administration of the courts. The head of the State was made the head of a State Church.

As the Sixteenth Century passed, other causes came into operation tending to assure for the coming Hohenzollern rulers a more general absolutism in their government. The power belonging to many towns gradually gave way before the enhancing power of noble families. The well-being of the peasantry steadily deteriorated. Their personal rights were more and more weakened.

Towards the end of the Sixteenth Century "all vacant official positions became the possession of members of the nobility. The nobles also received the privilege of exacting compulsory service from the peasants."

#### FIRST BRANDENBURG EXPANSION.

With the opening of the Seventeenth Century, Brandenburg, by good fortune as well as by successful scheming, gained so extensive a territorial enlargement that its movement towards positive leadership among the many hundreds of petty States in which the German peoples were gathered, was greatly hastened. Thereafter, for some time, only Saxony and Bavaria were greater in extent. In 1609, some provinces on the Rhine were passed to Brandenburg, by inheritance; and in 1618, through rights belonging to a Hohenzollern Commander of the Teutonic Knights, who by virtue of his office was hereditary ruler of Prussia, this Prussia,—a great district north-east of Brandenburg, conquered by these Knights as a religious adventure in the Thirteenth Century upon their return from the last Crusade,—became a Brandenburg possession. Thereby, the Electorate was advanced far on the way, both territorially and politically, towards the coveted leadership.

## "THE GREAT ELECTOR;" 1640-1688.

At this stage of our retrospect,—we are at the middle of the Seventeenth Century,—we meet with a commanding Hohenzollern personality. He is Frederick William, called "The Great Elector," under whom Brandenburg, as the source and regulative power actuating the peculiar development of the present German Empire, became of marked significance. The Thirty Years War, had devastated the Brandenburg territory along with the rest of central Europe. Nevertheless, such were the Great Elector's achievements, that "his reign forms one of the most signal instances in history of the conquest of adverse circumstances by personal energy and merit." "At his death the new north German State of Brandenburg-Prussia was a power that had to be reckoned with in all European combinations." At the outset of his rule, this Frederick William determined to consolidate the three widely separated Brandenburg possessions; and to promote as much as possible their political unity and industrial success. His efforts added greatly to his personal political sovereignty as well as to an increase of the independence of his domain. A full third of the Brandenburg territory,—the Prussian district,—lay outside the boundaries of the medieval German Empire, thereby enhancing the Hohenzollern independence. In the administration of his dominion

the Great Elector assumed an unconditioned rule. He found Brandenburg, in a way, a constitutional State. The legislative power was shared between the Elector and a Diet. He left the Electorate to his successor as, in substance, an absolute monarchy. He was his own premier and general. Under him the military and bureaucratic systems which have since characterized this foremost among the German States received their distinctive method and movement.

The Great Elector's reign closed in 1688, resulting in the transmission to his son, Frederick, of a State in central Europe second only to Austria in power and prosperity.

#### THE KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA :—1701.

Under the son of this "Great Elector" the "Kingdom of Prussia" came into being. The Brandenburg Elector became then the Prussian King. This King Frederick did much to develop his capital city, Berlin. He greatly encouraged art and learning. But, so far as the special aim of his House was served, only little was done by him to carry it onward.

#### ADVANCE OF THE HOHENZOLLERN MOTIVE.

Under his successor, however, King Frederick William the First, in the early half of the Eighteenth Century, the motive force of the Hohenzollern Imperialism received an especially well-defined expression

and a marked access of strength. The government of this King took on what is named a "Spartan rigor." What he did was done with "despotic energy." He held his sovereignty as wholly absolute. He brought a formidable military autocracy into being. He was controlled by the conviction that he was divinely endowed as a patriarchal monarch. He boasted that his will was "a rock of bronze." Under his monarchy great industrial progress and gain of wealth was made by Prussia. Moreover, he created the finest army in Europe, then. His regiment of gigantic personal guards is famous in Prussian history. Among other far-reaching acts, he broke down, in his own interests, the feudal rights of the Prussian nobles; and he became known as the "Defender of Protestantism." During his reign, it is said that Prussia became "the model state of Europe," though its government was "wholly arbitrary and the King's ministers were merely clerks used to register his decrees." He ruled from 1713 to 1740. His reign is described as of "the utmost importance from having checked the threatened downfall of Prussia, and paved the way for 'Frederick the Great,' his son, to whom he left "a strong army and a full treasury."

"BRITISH EMPIRE OVER-SEAS;"—1700-1800.

During this notable development of the superior

military autocracy aimed at by the Hohenzollern Dynasty, there was going on, almost *pari passu*, the expansion and the establishment of another mighty State,—“The British Empire over-seas.” This Empire, however, was not the product of a personal or family ambition ; nor was it carried forward in the interests of an autocratic or absolutist dynasty. Its motive was the widest possible industrial and commercial supremacy ; and its regulative force was ostensibly the furtherance of constitutional government and the achievements of individually free men. By means of maritime power, the British people sought foothold for their industries and trade in all parts of the world ; and, in doing this, they often forcibly took possession of desired lands and imposed upon them their laws and their methods of work.

#### THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

In America, for instance, several British groups had established themselves as Colonies, along with colonies gathering there from several other nationalities. They grew with these others in prosperity, all gradually developing into free, democratic communities ; all coming, at length, under the inspiration of the ideals of personal freedom and of popular government inherent in the traditional Constitutionalism of Great Britain, and all at last revolting from the attempted tyranny of

a German British King, thereby becoming, themselves, an autonomous Republic.

Elsewhere, the British Empire widely expanded. Its rule was often severe and aggressive ; but always, at length, with widening scope, guiding its sway under impersonal law and with regard for the welfare of those upon whom its sovereignty was imposed. The British Empire, in fact, has been distinguished throughout its development, not so much by aggressive conquests of many lands and peoples ; and by arbitrary spoliation of property ; and by personal cruelty on the part of its promoters and officials, as by the service it has rendered, in the long run, to the growth of individual freedom, of justice and of the general welfare, even among the peoples brought under its rule by the use of armed force. The British Empire, in contrast with that which through the same years was the Hohenzollern goal, was essentially that of constitutional, impersonal law put over against the personal will of an absolute monarch.

#### “FREDERICK THE GREAT.”

Resuming now our retrospect of the Hohenzollern Imperialism, we come to the reign of the famous heir of the House, known as “Frederick the Great,” who was autocrat of Prussia for the forty-six years, between 1740 and 1786. In this Frederick, the

motive force of his ancestor, the first Frederick, had a most devoted recipient and a successful promoter. Above all else, he sought the territorial expansion of his inherited autocratic sovereignty and its political aggrandizement, by the use of military power. Almost immediately after his accession, apparently just to gratify his Imperial greed, he attacked Silesia. Then, in 1756, in order to make this spoil secure, he sought to become master of Saxony. Hereupon, came "The Seven Years War" against allied Austria, France, Russia and Saxony. Afterwards, troubles multiplied many fold for Frederick, but this Hohenzollern monarch, true to the faith of his ancestors,—a faith markedly obtrusive in the utterances of all the Hohenzollerns, even until to-day—comforted himself and cheered his followers with the pious declaration, "Heaven still stands by us."

After 1763, Frederick's aggressiveness towards other countries was held in abeyance. He devoted his energies to the restoration and promotion of Prussia's industrial and commercial welfare. He proved himself to be "as great in peace as in war," so it was said.

Literature and philosophy had an extraordinary period of development under his patronage; in matters of religion, moreover, the most generous toleration prevailed. Politically, Frederick's rule continued to be personal and ultimate, consistent with the Hohenzol-

lern tradition and habit. He was his own prime-minister in the widest and most literal sense of the name. The people of his realm were no obstacle to his will ; they had become almost servile in their attitude towards their monarch. Every measure emanated from the King himself ; the country had learned to rely on him alone for help in all emergencies. Public opinion on political matters could not be said to exist ; and “the provincial diets met simply to receive the instructions of the royal agents.” Frederick, it is true, declared that “the ruler lives for the sake of the people,” but he was in no measure a democrat. He may have been “a benevolent despot,” but he was, nevertheless, a despot ; he bore faithfully throughout his life his family’s dynastic motive.

#### PAUSE IN THE HOHENZOLLERN ADVANCE.

With the passing of Frederick the Great (1786), the long growing and mighty despotism of Prussia, together with its promised leadership of the Germanic peoples, received a severe check ; the Hohenzollern Dynasty entered a “Valley of Humiliation.” The dream of autocratic Imperialism which had been constant in the House of Hohenzollern from the Brandenburg Electorate into the Kingdom of expanding Prussia, persistent for nearly four hundred years, seemed, for the time, to have faded away.

Prussia, in 1792, made an alliance with Austria, in order to restore the fallen King of France, Louis XVI, but failed. Then, in her discouragement, she accepted a treaty of peace in 1795 with the formidable revolutionary government of France. In those days began the darkest period for the movement of the Hohenzollern motive. Heedless at first of the sudden, portentous rise, and the conquering advance of Napoleon Bonaparte beyond the boundaries of France, the Prussian King at length was aroused from his strange lethargy. Evidently he had to act if only for the sake of self-preservation. He attempted battle with the aggressor. But at Jena and Auerstadt, in 1806, the Prussian armies, no longer under the lead of such brain and will as that of the great Frederick, were totally defeated. Napoleon, in triumph, entered Berlin, whence the Hohenzollern King and Court had fled.

#### THE HOHENZOLLERN RENEWAL.

This terrible disaster, however, was not ruinous enough to crush the Prussian Kingdom, nor to destroy the Hohenzollern motive. A marvellous regeneration of dynastic ambition and of national effort soon followed, wrought and supported by devoted servants of the Prussian Throne. Memorable statesmen and soldiers, such as Stein, Hardenberg, Scharnhorst, and Gneisenau, appeared on behalf of the King, as leaders in the development of improvements in the forms and

methods of government ; in bettering the legal status of the people ; in the reorganization and discipline of the army, and in reviving the *esprit du corps* generally of the populace. I read that “ the revolution thus effected in Prussia has been aptly compared in its results to the great revolution in France ; but, while there the reforms were exacted by a people in arms, here they were rather forced upon the people by the Crown.”

#### PRUSSIA AGAIN IN THE LEAD.

It so happened, in those years of the approach of the time when the final defeat of the astounding Corsican adventurer was to take place, that Prussia had again risen to prominence among the German States. In the momentous “ Battle of the Nations,” fought at Leipzig, in 1813, the Allies, chief among them being Prussia, gained the victory – a victory which, in fact, secured the liberation of Germany and restored to the Dynasty, of the Hohenzollerns its imperilled leadership. Napoleon’s conquering career was at last effectually brought to a close with his defeat at Waterloo. And in 1815, by “ The Congress of Vienna,” Prussia regained most of the territory of which she had been despoiled by Napoleon. She was otherwise so dealt with there that the objective of the Hohenzollern Dynasty became, more than ever, of possible attainment. The many hundreds of Ger-

man States hitherto existent, as they were rearranged after Napoleon's fall, became practically but three sovereignties ; — Prussia, Austria and the Rhenish Confederation.

#### DEMOCRACY STIRS GERMANY : 1815-1848.

Yet, for some time thereafter, the Hohenzollern monarchy, because of the wide dissemination of the ideas back of the popular uprising in France, was considerably embarrassed. Among the German peoples generally, the French Revolution had aroused longings for political freedom and national unity. A number of the rulers of the German States, consequently, either promised, or gave State constitutions by which some show of civil freedom appeared among their subjects. But in no German State was the ruler's absolutism, thereby, more than slightly modified. Frederick William the Third, of Prussia, did all in his power to resist the aspirations for representative government which had found voice among his people. "The utmost concession he made was to appoint a number of provincial diets, which tended rather to foster than to allay the general discontent." During this period, Prussia made a great gain in leadership among the other German States because of the establishment of a widely inclusive Customs-Union. Her prestige and power were thereby notably advanced. At that time, too, the

liberals who had appeared among the people of Prussia were considerably encouraged ; it was their desire that their sovereign would grant to the Kingdom a representative, constitutional government.

With the accession of Frederick William the Fourth, in 1840, there was “a general expectation that the King would abandon the arbitrary ideas” of his father. And it did happen, after some critical years, that in 1847 an assembly was called by the King to meet the sovereign, that the people might lay before him their longings for civil freedom. “This assembly,” I read, “truly expressed the popular feeling, but with so much moderation, and with so many assurances of loyalty, that it could not alarm the most timid.” Frederick William, however, was offended by its tone, and haughtily proclaimed that he “would never abate the rights which, as a lawful prince, he held by a higher than human authority.”

#### AN ATTEMPT AT REVOLUTION :—1848.

In the very next year, 1848, a revolution in favor of democracy again arose in France, and all Western Europe came under its influence. The popular excitement throughout Germany became intense. In the Prussian capital it broke forth into threatening violence ; and the King, notwithstanding his conviction that he was an autocrat by divine right, seemingly gave way to the demand of the time and declared

that he would lead his people in the establishment of a constitutional government at home; also that he would join in a Germanic Union which should maintain the dignity and promote the prosperity of all the Germanic nations.

#### CONSTITUTIONALISM IN PRUSSIA: 1850-1860.

The story of the next decade, so far as it relates to the movement of the dominating motive of the House of Hohenzollern is one of peculiar interest; not because it tells of any marked advance toward fulfilment, but because of what it tells of varying hazards in the midst of the political struggles which then distracted all Europe. The impulse towards political freedom and popular representative government had become strong throughout Germany: but, as "the Germans had had no experience of free political life," they could do but little in Prussia towards making effective use of the promise of Constitutionalism which they had received from their Hohenzollern monarch.

A Prussian national assembly met in 1848. Articles for the promised constitution were received and were considered. One of the articles proposed happened to provide that, thereafter, it should not be said of the Prussian King, he wore his crown by "the grace of God." This proposition met at once with extreme antagonism. Some other articles were alike revolutionary. The King,

thereupon, true to the motive of his House, broke with the liberals of the assembly. He reassembled the delegates at Brandenburg near Berlin. After an impatient waiting, he dissolved the gathering. Then, under the direction of his own advisers, he granted to Prussia a constitution about which the people had not been consulted ; and he gave orders for the election of a representative Chamber under its provisions. This constitution was revised later, but, however it was afterwards revised, it was always revised with the main object of reducing "to a minimum the power of the national representatives and of exalting and extending that of the Government."

During the Crimean War of 1855, the political reaction in favor of the Hohenzollern absolutism gained marked momentum. The Prussian Government appeared "resolved to make up for its temporary submission to the popular will by the utmost violence on which it could venture." A general election took place in the autumn of 1855, and so harshly was the expression of opinion restrained that "a Chamber was returned with scarcely a single liberal element of serious importance." "The German people seemed to have lost both the power and the will to assert their rights."

A slight reaction in favor of representative popular government took place in 1858, when the Prussian King had become insane. His brother, afterwards

King William the First, assumed charge of affairs as Regent. But when the incapacitated King, Frederick William, died in 1861, and the Prince Regent assumed the rule of Prussia, it was not long before a vast change came over the Government:—a change whose logical issues brought about, at length, the unprecedented international conflict into which the leading peoples of the world have been recently forced. With the accession of William the First, the way was soon opened for the full resumption by the Hohenzollern King, of the distinctive motive of his House, and its advance towards the universal supremacy of which it is avowedly the divinely destined bearer.

#### THE HOHENZOLLERN REASSUMPTION.

King William was a true prince in the succession of the Hohenzollern Dynasty. He went to his throne with the resolve to undo, if possible, all that the Revolt of 1848 had effected in his Kingdom. At first, he found himself in check at almost every move he attempted. These obstacles were so at variance with his cherished dynastic prerogatives, that, in 1862, he decided he would “abdicate his throne rather than submit to constitutional limitations.” He even prepared a writ of abdication.

Then came a fateful moment;—for Prussia and for Germany;—indeed, as disclosed by after events, for all Europe;—and now, in all seeming, for

the world. “The King was pacing up and down a retired walk in the beautiful English park of his country home, Babelsberg,” so Poultney Bigelow describes the scene. The newly appointed Premier of the Ministry, Otto von Bismarck, was with the King. “The situation was explained: Bismarck listened respectfully, and gave as his advice that the abdication manuscript should be torn up. They were standing on a rustic bridge over a streamlet trickling into the Havel; and as the pieces fell from the King’s hand the Prime Minister carefully picked them up, thus unconsciously symbolizing the traditional attitude of the Prussian Junker to his alms-giving, super-lord.

‘But’ said the King, ‘I must then carry on the government without a parliament, and where can I find a minister capable of doing this? Of course, Bismarck bowed; the bargain was struck; and from that moment the two conspirators worked as one.—The Commons made speeches and passed resolutions, but the Cromwells of Prussia were in the pay of their King and the representatives of the people were turned out of doors.’

#### BISMARCK AS A MONARCH’S CHAMPION.

In Bismarck, the new heir of the storied first Hohenzollern Elector gained a mighty guardian and a valiant champion. He made the “sacred mission” of the Hohenzollern autocracy his own, to protect and to

fulfil. When raised to his exalted office he sternly resolved to advance Prussia's power and prestige until the Kingdom should be at the head of a united Germany. "Having something of Cromwell's superstition as well as Cromwell's strength he apparently regarded this as a sort of religious mission.—A rough, despotic, vehement nature, he was undeterred by scruples which might harass ordinary statesmen; having set up a goal he marched to it by the straightest path. The solemn traditions of diplomacy, he laughed out of court. He respected treaties exactly in so far as they were capable of being defended. With little faith in the action of moral causes, he took care to have behind him those big battalions which destiny is said unduly to favor. Prussia at once recognized that she had in him a statesman of commanding type,—a bold and resolute spirit; with narrow but intense vision, and a will created to go crashing through difficulties, and to fashion a world to its liking."

Bismarck, at the very outset of his championship of his Monarch's revived devotion to the ancient motive of his House, declared to the gathered assembly which had the name of being the legislature for the Kingdom, that his Sovereign ruled by "the grace of God;" not by the will of the people. Furthermore, he announced that Prussia's future must be brought under the protecting guidance of military power; not

under the direction of civil legislatures and courts. In his first speech before the Prussian Diet, which soon became only a nominal expression of the wishes or the judgments of the people, Bismarck made the memorable declaration that the longed for unity of Germany was to be brought about, not by speeches ; not by agreements ; nor by votes of majorities, but by “ blood and iron.”

#### THE NEW HOHENZOLLERN ADVANCE.

What Bismarck did to realize and to fulfil the original dynastic purpose which had been aroused to fresh clearness and power in the new Hohenzollern Sovereign he had been chosen to serve, need not be recalled now at length. Events, from the first, moved rapidly. The old, perplexing Schleswig-Holstein question was pushed to a solution satisfying to Prussia, despite the disapproval of many of the other European Powers. Then came the war with Austria ; forced by Prussia on that Empire ; the successful issue of which expelled Austria from Germany and left its rival in undisputed possession. “ Prussia annexed Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Frankfort and Schleswig-Holstein.” All the other northern States of Germany were compelled to form a Confederation under the leadership of Prussia. The four South German States,—Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden and Hesse Darmstadt,—were left in name independent : but by secret treaties

they all were pledged to put their armies at the disposal of Prussia in time of war. The House of Hohenzollern thereby became actually the guide and motive force of all the German peoples, now virtually a united nation. In the beginning of 1867, a constituent assembly of the new Confederation met in Berlin. It was there explicitly arranged that the headship of the Confederation should be hereditary, and that it should belong to the King of Prussia.

This was a wonderful advance. But the motive which impelled the Hohenzollern Dynasty was not yet fully realized. That could not be adequately satisfied with any less a comprehension than an acknowledged direct sovereignty over all Germany. At last, a promising occasion appeared of which the Prussian Premier took much less than a fair advantage. A war with the upstart Empire of Louis Napoleon in France was precipitated. That struggle was soon carried through to a complete victory for the Germans.

#### THE PRUSSIAN KING MADE GERMAN EMPEROR.

Through the stimulus of the unsurpassed conquests made by the German armies, the obstacles which thitherto had prevented a complete Imperial unity of the German peoples gave way. Some of the southern States, in yielding, were allowed to reserve for themselves certain local, or special privileges ; but all

submitted to Prussia's lead, making of themselves, thereby, a united State. As the year 1871 opened, the King of Prussia, in the palace of Versailles in conquered France, in the presence of high officials coming from all the German States was declared Emperor of Germany. The vision of the far-away Elector Frederick became at last a wonderful fact. And thenceforward, until to-day, there has been centered, in what five centuries ago was the petty Mark of Brandenburg, a mighty Empire, inclusive of all German peoples; definite in purpose and marvellous in achievement; having as its ruler a descendant of the ancient House of Hohenzollern, the heir of the long cherished conviction of his House that he is the bearer of an absolute political sovereignty, divinely imposed and sustained.

#### THE NEW HOHENZOLLERN DREAM.

Since the crowning of William the First, as the modern Emperor of Germany, forty-five years have now passed. During these years the Empire has had a most eventful and momentous career. But the world would have only little to note, or remember concerning the movement of this Empire, other than its extraordinary industrial, commercial, and general social development as such, were it not that, in the Empire's growth, certain purposes and efforts have

appeared which evidently have become portentous for mankind beyond the German boundaries.

The dream of the Nuremberg Count has not only come true, but his Imperial heirs seem to have been impelled, under their good fortune, to behold a still wider vision, which, as Professor Usher describes it, is "nothing less than the domination of Europe and of the world by the Germanic Race." Not content with realizing their traditional dynastic ideal,—that of a German Imperialism dominant over all German peoples and supreme among the nations around it,—the Hohenzollerns' ambition to-day has conceived the purpose of making Germany under their own "divinely ordained" autocracy, Dictator of the World.

#### THE HOHENZOLLERN WORLD POLICY.

It was not long after the present German Empire was established, that its Sovereign revived the foreign colonial policy devised by one of his ancestors in the Seventeenth Century, and feebly directed then to the African coast. In 1884, parts of the West Coast of Africa received again the German flag. Some of the Pacific Ocean islands were also made German possessions: and from that time foreign colonization was extended as far and as widely as opportunity came. Upon occasion, moreover, help was offered to rebellious colonists of other nations; in Africa, in

America and in Asia. Again and again, direct spoliation of the territories of feebler peoples was made upon even slight pretext. This policy was pursued so vigorously that, two years ago, great areas in Africa; namely, Togoland, the Kameroons, the South West and East Africa protectates; also, Kaiser Wilhelm's Land in Papua, together with the Solomon and the Marshall Islands and Samoa of the Pacific, and the Shantung Province of China with yet other coveted regions, had become Germany's over-seas possessions. This aggressive expansion of the German Empire outside its European boundaries at length became an increasing source of general international solicitude. For the past score and more years, particularly, the world's nations have been kept in a state of unrest and foreboding, more by the interferences and transgressions among them of the Hohenzollern Empire than by the movements of any other nation.

Early in the career of the German Empire that now is, the great Viceroy of China, Li Hung Chang, in a visit made to Europe, wrote of the beginnings of the present outworking of the German ambition;—"From all that I have seen I am more than ever convinced that the Kaiser and Prince Bismarck meant what they said when they averred that the German Empire was destined to become a dominant factor in Europe." And Roland G. Usher in his re-

markably prophetic book, "Pan-Germanism," appearing before the outbreak of the present war, and outlining what was evident to him as the new Hohenzollern Imperial policy, spoke of its three phases as :—"first, an attempt to secure colonies ; second, an attempt to obtain entrance into the markets of the East by a trade route across the Balkans and Turkey, which formed, by international agreement, a neutral zone ; and third, the determinedly aggressive scheme for the actual forcible conquest of the world."

WILLIAM, THE SECOND ; KING-EMPEROR ;  
PERSONALITY AND PURPOSE.

In June 1888, the present Emperor, William the Second, came to the Hohenzollern throne. It was said of him at the time, by one who knows him and his family's history well, that "in force of character and intellectual power he surpasses any of his predecessors, certainly up to the time of the Great Frederick."

Two years later, William dismissed from his service Prince von Bismarck, the potent promoter and support of the new Imperial Germany. Since then the Emperor has been, practically, not only the Sovereign of the State but his own Prime Minister; directly aiming to be dictator and leader of the Imperial policy. What he is and wills is now, therefore, that which more

than any other power moves and makes the Imperialism of which modern Germany is the subject.

It would be impossible to portray here this extraordinary personality with anything like an adequate representation. But it goes far, to make the recent stage reached by the Hohenzollern Dynasty intelligible, to know that its Emperor is fully devoted to his ancestral claim to be autocrat over his realm by "Divine right" and commission. How true some of the extravagant assertions ascribed to him are,—claims to supernatural endorsement as Monarch,—can not be brought to test here; but it is on record that, at Coblenz soon after his accession, he made the unqualified announcement that he is God's "Viceroy"; and, at another time, he asserted that the "Hohenzollerns took their crown from God's altar," so that "they are responsible to no one but the Almighty." Also, justifying his words by his conviction of a divinely sanctioned responsibility, he said, in August 1888, at Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, that he "would rather see his forty-two millions of Prussians dead on the battle field than give up one foot of ground gained by the Franco-German War." Further, this Emperor, cherishing an unmeasured admiration for the character and achievements of his ancestor, Frederick the Great, fancies himself at times, so it is said, to be like him, both in person and in purpose. As King of Prussia, the Kaiser has practically an unlimited scope

for his autocratic will ; as head of the Empire, as now constituted, his monarchy moves under certain limitations. He accepts these Imperial limitations perforce ; and he accepts them steadily under protest. One who was once close to him has written,—“ When in the beginning of October 1897, Prince Hohenlohe, by threat of resignation, prevented the Kaiser from offering armed assistance to the Queen of Spain, (to counteract the possible intervention in Cuban affairs by the United States) his Majesty talked for three days incessantly of ‘Frederick, who was his own chancellor and parliament,’—‘of the living, puissant Hohenzollern-initiative.’ ‘But,’ he exclaimed, ‘Frederick is not dead ; he lives here,’ (striking his breast) ‘and his mailed fist will clutch somebady’s throat sooner or later.’ ”

As by a flash, this story discloses profoundly the personality under which the present movement of the Hohenzollern Imperialism has been brought. And it almost compels the judgment that, all conditions considered, the horrible conflict into which Germany has recently plunged many nations is but the natural, indeed, it may be said, the inevitable, sequence of the Hohenzollern conviction, become an obsession, in the mood of the present German monarch. The second phase of what we have seen outlined as modern Germany’s Imperial policy was, in all probability, the occasion of the beginning of this struggle, but what may

be named its real cause lies deeper ; and, to all appearances now, through the same cause, the movement of the war has become an impulse towards the third, and culminating, phase of the aggrandized ambition of Imperial Germany, that is, the conquest, or at least the dictatorship, of the world.

#### THE HOHENZOLLERN CREED TO-DAY.

This judgment, to many who read it, will certainly appear excessive, or even baseless, I know. But I can not read the centuries old story of the motive and movement of the Imperialism distinctive of the House of Hohenzollern, and learn what it plainly shows of the personality of the present exalted heir of the House, without seeing it culminate in this otherwise insatiable ambition.

Owen Wister, in his pathetic meditation on “The Pentecost of Calamity,” aids this judgment graphically when he says ;—

“ And now we are ready for the Prussian Creed,— a composite statement of Prussianism, compiled sentence by sentence from the utterances of—the Kaiser and his generals, professors, editors and Nietzsche ; part of it said in cold blood, years before this war, and all of it a declaration of faith now being ratified by action :—

“ We Hohenzollerns take our crown from God alone. On me the Spirit of God has descended. I

regard my whole task as appointed by heaven. Who opposes me I shall crush to pieces. Nothing must be settled in this world without the intervention of the German Emperor. He who listens to public opinion runs a danger of inflicting immense harm on the State."

I need not quote all that is given in Mr. Wister's luminous exhibit of the Hohenzollern motive. Only these few clarifying sentences more to give distinctness.

"Might is right and is decided by war. War in itself is a good thing. The efforts directed towards the abolition of war must not only be termed foolish, but absolutely immoral. Christian morality can not be political. Weak nations have not the same right to live as powerful nations. To us, more than to any other nation, is entrusted the true structure of human existence.—Our country, by employing military power, has attained a degree of Culture which it could never have reached by peaceful means. Our might shall create a new law in Europe.—It is Germany that strikes. They call us barbarians. What of it? We are morally and intellectually superior beyond all comparison.—We must fight with Russian beasts, English mercenaries and Belgian fanatics. France must be so completely crushed that she will never again cross our path. We have nothing to apologize for."

## THE STATE IS POWER ; AND IT IS MONARCHY.

Much more, in support of my judgment of the present movement of the dynasty of the Hohenzollern House, could be quoted directly from the assertions of to-day's Emperor and of his immediate attendants. But I will recall now a few significant declarations made outside the Imperial environment, presumably free from the influence of the dynastic obsession ; made by a political philosopher who is everywhere accepted among Germans as a clear sighted expositor of governmental ideals,—Heinrich von Treitschke.

“ Power is the principle of the State.” “ The idea of power is of course a stern one ; to achieve one's purpose fully and unconditionally is here the highest and first thing. The essence of the State consists in this, that it can suffer no higher power above itself. The State is the power of the stronger race which establishes itself ;—it can not recognize an arbiter above itself, and, consequently, legal obligations must in the last resort be subject to its own judgment.” “ The position of the Hohenzollerns is not founded upon distinguished personal virtue or judiciousness ; but their superiority consists in the mere fact that they are the Kings ; that they stand upon their own right of sovereignty which is not disputed.” “ Certain views become, by reason of a long historical experience the habit of a ruling family ;—think of the efforts

of the Hohenzollerns to form the Union" (of the German States). "Originally it was merely a makeshift in order to secure themselves." "But the King, being profoundly imbued with the consciousness of his exalted duty, it is glorious to see how the high office educates its holder? What examples of such kingly men Prussia possesses in Frederick the Second and King William" (the First).—"With us the Kingship is almost the only force of political tradition which unites our present with the past; shall we wish for ourselves English Georges instead of our famous House of Hohenzollern. We have such a proud monarchic history that a Prussian may well say; 'The best monarch is just good enough for us.' —According to our Constitution the monarch alone is vested with the power of the State.—In Germany the will of the King—means something very real. This is true above all of Prussia, which alone has still a real monarch."

#### ARMED PRUSSIA MAKES IMPERIAL GERMANY.

Treitschke goes so far in his exaltation of Prussia and its Monarch as to add,—"He who judges impartially must say that since the Great Elector," (1740), "the political history of Germany is entirely contained in Prussia. Every clod of land which was lost through the fault of the old Empire, and was won back again, was acquired by means of Prussia. In

this State lay thenceforth the political energies of the German nation. On Prussian soil that arming of the nation began which was later to become the lot of all Germany.—Even he who looks upon the army as an evil must consider it in any case as a necessary evil. The State must maintain itself as against other States. It is the normal and rational course when a great nation embodies and develops in an organized army the nature of the State, which is power because of its physical strength. With Clausewitz we again look upon war as the forcible continuation of policy. If the army is the organized political strength of the State, then that organization can only be power; and it can have no will of its own, for it is intended to execute the will of the head of the State in unconditional obedience.”

But it is in Treitschke’s essay on “The State in International Intercourse” that he gives expression to the Hohenzollern master-aim. All that I have been quoting from him serves but by way of preparation for this statement.

#### IMPERIAL GERMANY SEEKS WORLD CONTROL.

“The victory of Germany over France (1870) turns the old system upside down. Like Spain since the Pyrenean peace, France shows herself after the battle of Sedan powerless to dominate the world henceforth. The map of our part of

the world has been much more natural since; the center is strengthened, the *inspired idea*, that the centre of gravity of Europe must lie in the middle, has become a reality. Through the founding of the German Empire a tranquillity has entered spontaneously into the system of States (of Europe); Prussia has now essentially the power she required. What now threatens the peace of Europe,—is the reaction of those States on the circumference, who have been gradually forced into the back-ground by the great reconstruction, and cannot bear with patience the loss of their former greatness. This elevation of Germany to real power is the one great change in the European system of States which began with the year 1866."

"This is how we stand in the interior of Europe. Add to this the wonderfully altered conditions outside our part of the globe. In the course of little more than half a century a transformation has been accomplished such as the earlier world never knew."

The writer then speaks of the opening up of China, Japan, Australia and the islands of the South Seas, passing this significant judgment:—"Our Nineteenth Century is, as it were, the executor of the Sixteenth. The discovery of the New World which Columbus accomplished has only now become a practical reality. The non-European world is entering more and more within the range of vision of the European States; and, without any

doubt, the nations of Europe must lay themselves out, directly, or indirectly, to subdue them. The great process of expansive Civilization continues with the irresistible force of a power of Nature."

Probably the consummate exposition of the motive and movement of the Hohenzollern Dynasty has been given by General von Bernhardi, a man of marked eminence in Germany, who has declared with emphasis that,

"Might is right, and right is decided by war."

"The lessons of history confirm the view that wars which have been deliberately provoked by far-seeing statesman have had the happiest results."

"The prospects of success are always the greatest when the moment for declaring war can be settled to suit the political and military situation."

Professor Usher, commenting on the new Hohenzollern purpose, says that, "Germans now as a whole refuse to admit the validity of any theoretical notions whose application would in any way restrict or interfere with Germany's full share in the mastery of world." "If the factors on which the Germans rely are what they think they are, the domination of the world by Germany and her allies can only be a question of time." "The Boer War, Morocco, the strangling of Persia, the war in Tripoli, the Balkan crisis, are only incidents in this gigantic

struggle in which the very pawns are kingdoms and the control of the entire globe the stake."

#### THE HOHENZOLLERN GOAL NOW SOUGHT.

At the present time, consequently, I can not reasonably doubt that mankind have been confronted by a fact of universal portent. The peoples of central Europe, united as the German Empire, are under the control of a family Dynasty whose essential motive force has become the gaining of sovereignty over all mankind, under an avowed Divine commis mission : and, to this end, any means that can bring victory for it are declared to be justifiable and should be used. The movement of this Dynasty has shown a steadily persistent and aggressive advance through several centuries ; from feeble and confused beginnings in the political chaos which befell feudal Germany, into the clarifying self-consciousness and power of the expanding Prussian Kingdom of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, until its direct goal was reached in the establishment of the German Empire forty-five years ago. Since that time, the Hohenzollern succession has been aroused to the conviction that the full satisfaction of its historic purpose can not be secured without the rise of the Empire to a dictatorship of mankind. Herein is to be found the meaning of the later course of events in which the Empire has had part ; above all the meaning of the

present implacable assault upon the nations lying in the way of Germany's dynastic expansion.

Owen Wister, speaking of this fact, says,—“Had it not culminated before our eyes, the case of Germany would be perfectly incredible. As it stands to day, the truly incredible thing is that she should have made her spring at the throat of an unexpecting, unprepared world.”—Then we are reminded, “The case of Germany is the Prussianizing of Germany.” “The guilt is laid on Prussia and the Hohenzollern.” “The process goes back a long way.” It is, “a germination of state and family ambition combined, fermenting it last into lust for world dominion. It grows quite visible, first, in Frederick the Great. By him the Prussian state of mind and international ethics began to be formulated. Frederick's cynical, strong spirit-guided Prussia after Waterloo; guided first the predecessor of Bismarck, and next, Bismarck himself.” “Very plain it is to see, now, why the small separate German States, should after 1870 hail their new-created Emperor. Had he not led them united to the first glory and conquest they had ever known?” “So, they handed their soul to the Hohenzollern;” and “for forty years” they “have sat in the thickening fumes that exhaled from Berlin, spread everywhere by professors chosen at the fountain head.” “Out of the fumes have emerged three colossal shapes,—the Super-man, the Super-race and

the Super-state; the new Trinity of German worship."

#### HOW GERMANY NOW MAKES WAR.

The present awful struggle has, therefore, come upon the world by the compulsion of a dynastic will. The monstrosity born of the insatiable Hohenzollern lust has now matured and seeks the mastery of mankind; and many nations must do battle in self defense.

Remember the outbreak of the attack. That event will stand in history as a better interpretation of the wanton usurpation of human liberties, and of the remorseless destruction of the ideals and virtues of Christian civilization that now threatens humanity under the ironic name of *Kultur* than any critical dissertation could set forth.

##### *a. Deliberate Deceit while still at Peace.*

Consistently, it began with deliberate, carefully concealed deceit in the Empire's European international relations. In the British Parliament of last year (1915), Mr. Lloyd George said;—“We recollect the Balkan crisis. Nothing could have been friendlier than the attitude of Germany. She had a benevolent smile for France. She treated Russia as a friend and brother. She smoothed down all the susceptibilities of Austria. She walked arm in arm with Great Britain through the Chancelleries of

Europe: and we really thought that at last the era of peace and good will had dawned. At that moment she was forging and hiding up immense accumulations of war stores to take her neighbors unawares and murder them in their sleep."

*b. Violation of International Law.*

Moreover, the mutual agreements which in modern times have been slowly elaborated among civilized nations,—Germany being one of these nations,—elaborated with much show of cordiality as established principles of international law:—such as the security of non-combatants; as the sacredness of treaty obligations; as the inviolability of treasures of art and shrines of religion,—have now been vaingloriously cast aside as having no place in the respect of the victorious leaders or champions of the Hohenzollern invader of the nations.

Is it not notoriously the fact that, when the Kaiser signed the decree which opened the present war, the German armies at once invaded Belgium and other territory which had been by treaty declared sacred from military movements made against other lands, and that the Kaiser's representative later gave answer to a protest against this violation of neutrality, that Germany's advance was not to be checked by "a scrap of paper"? And it has been authoritatively announced by responsible leaders of the invading armies

that, "it is of no consequence whatever, if all the monuments ever created, all the pictures ever painted, all the buildings ever erected by the great architects of the world be destroyed;" that, "the ugliest stone placed to mark the burial of a German grenadier is a more glorious monument than all the cathedrals of Europe put together."

*c. Disregard of Humane Law.*

Then, how directly contemptuous of all that other European nations have come to regard as humane limitations in their warfare, has been the manner of Germany's initiatory assault, just made, upon the people directly in her way. It has not had its like among civilized nations for a century and longer. In fact, the assault was not only the ruthless invasion of an unoffending State sacredly guarded by a promise of international neutrality,—one of whose guarantors was Germany herself,—but it was also, in large measure, a gross repetition of the devastation, rapine and slaughter which occurred three centuries ago when the German peoples almost destroyed themselves in their thirty years of interstate war.

Where, outside the decrees of "How Germany makes War," can be found in this century any thing like a permission of the awful excesses which were committed, if not officially ordered, in the beginnings of the invasion of Belgium,—the incendiaryism, the

pillage, the lust, the torture and the murder then inflicted upon a helpless population, regardless of age or sex?

There may be valid reason back of Treitschke's dictum concerning "humanity in warfare." He argues that "States and not their individual citizens make war on one another." "On the feeling of the soldier that he has only to do with the enemy's soldiers, and does not need to fear that he will find every peasant, aiming at him from behind a bush;—on that feeling all humanity in war rests. If the soldier does not know whom he has to look upon as soldiers in the enemy's country,—then he must become cruel and unfeeling. Ruthless severity against the *franc-tireurs* who swarm around the enemy, without standing under the articles of war, is self-evident."

Literally applied, this dictum may be accepted; but where does it give justification for the wholesale slaughter of hundreds of innocent villagers, of old and crippled men, of women and even of babes in arms, with torture and rape added,—for the mass of outrages committed by German soldiers when they were first let loose in Belgium; outrages of which abundant and sufficient proof is now upon record?

*d. Wanton Sacrifice of its Armies.*

And then, what more reckless and incalculable price could an autocratic dynasty compel its subjects to pay

for the gratification of its greed, than the wanton sacrifice of their lives which the House of Hohenzollern has been demanding of the soldiers who are its enslaved subjects. Battles, as now fought by the Germans under their theories of the superiority of a persistent initiative, and of a constantly renewed offense, seem to have no consideration whatever shown in them for the cost that thereby may befall the masses driven to make the attacks. One of the most horrible of all the uses which the Hohenzollern autocrat is making of his power, is his merciless disregard of the lives of the individuals he commands to serve him. The German peoples, as a whole, seem indeed to have become servile to the autocrats of the House of Hohenzollern. And the Hohenzollern autocrats, in order to gratify the fanatic conception which has been made the historic ambition of their House, seem, in battles now, to offer their compliant subjects for sacrifice, almost without limit.

All these forbidden things,—treacherous deceit of neighbor nations; denial of the principles of justice and fair dealing which had been accepted as international law; violation of the provisions of international treaties solemnly agreed to; destruction of monuments of art and of shrines of religion; merciless disregard of the multitude of lives composing its own armies when battles are waged, and worse than all else, the savage and even inhuman orgies of its

soldiery when the invasion of Belgium was begun,—all these forbidden things, and yet more, apparently have been deliberately chosen by the Hohenzollern Dynasty as means by which it may rightfully secure its monstrous aggrandizement.

#### THE WORLD'S MOST MOMENTOUS QUESTION NOW.

Inevitably, therefore, the world's peoples who have not yet been brought under the Hohenzollern absolutism, are summoned now to meet its ultimate aggression upon the individual, social and civil liberties which are cherished among them, and to decide whether or not they will allow it, unresisted, to reach success. This, I believe to be, to-day, Humanity's imperative and most momentous duty.

I am fully convinced that this judgment is not merely the judgment of an alarmist. I would be an alarmist, being witness of the portentous spectacle now displayed throughout Europe; and seeing much that is coming from the same source in other lands. And I am confident that my alarm is that of a clear-sighted man. I see grave danger threatening all possessors of personal and civil liberty; and I am convinced that, unless it is sufficiently guarded against, the free peoples of the world are to suffer from it. To me, the awful struggle in these days convulsing Europe, whatever else it may be immediately and on the surface, is, in its inner meaning, a struggle be-

tween an aggressive political dynasty, assuming to be divinely ordained,—commissioned to a sovereignty which shall be world-supreme,—and the hosts of individual men and women who are claiming personal self-possession and that political freedom, which, expressed in the State, is democracy, or some other form of representative popular government. In other words, I see in the war now waged by the German Monarchy a direct effect of the original motive force of the House of Hohenzollern, meaning nothing less, than the subjugation of the peoples around it who are seeking to embody in their Governments, protection of personal liberty and of a free pursuit of individual and social welfare.

#### THE HOHENZOLLERN PORTENT FOR AMERICA.

And further, I see in the aggressions of the Hohenzollern Imperialism, not only the portent of the subjugation of all Europe to its rule, but, this being accomplished, the serious imperilling of the many endeavors of humanity to establish "governments of the people, by the people and for the people," which, especially during the last century, have been in movement throughout the American Continents. More particularly do I see the mighty republican union of North America endangered by the Hohenzollern Dynasty, should its armies be victorious in the present conflict. It is easy enough

to smile at this foreboding, and to pass it by without further heed. But there is ample evidence to show that the danger is not a vain thing in the plans by which the Hohenzollern Empire is now working. There are truthful men who have good reason for their belief that a victory for Germany in Europe is only needed to bring from Germany demands upon America, because of America's present "pro-allies neutrality," which would make the retention of American freedom either impossible, or, if possible, a luxury of almost inestimable cost.

I am an earnest advocate of peace. I would welcome all honorable means by which peace on earth and good will among mankind might be gained. I would go very far, and would yield much, to secure and to preserve amity, personal, social and national throughout the world. But I am compelled also to declare that there are occasions when both personal and national peace can be had only at too high a cost; times when war should be accepted as an alternative preferable to any peace possible then; such war, for instance, as fighting for the sake of personal liberty, for home, or for country, when the evident alternative is submission to slavery, or the strengthening of tyranny over the home or the homeland.

For reasons such as these, much as I deplore what the reasons demand, I believe that the duty of

all free peoples to day, and eminently the duty of the people of the United States of America, is to counsel seriously with those who believe they foresee the danger that threatens them, should there be a victorious issue for the Hohenzollern Dynasty in the struggle now waging in Europe. Then, if convinced, they should prepare themselves to withstand it. The duty of an adequate self-defense is, I believe, as much the imminent duty of the American people, confronted by the motive force dominant in the Dynasty which compelled the present war, as it would be the duty of any man in a wilderness to make ready against the raving of a beast of prey.

The foe which, among the nations, to-day most endangers the personal self-possession of individual men and women ; the enemy most arbitrarily in the way of the social organization of mankind as the resultant of the efforts of free thinking, self-determining fellow beings ; the aggressor most seriously checking the aspirations of multitudes among mankind to establish their States as real commonwealths, wherein all their members shall be free in the pursuit of personal and collective welfare, in the home, in the field, in the factory and market, in the school and in the Church ; the most forceful and determined foe to-day to all such expressions of the souls of free men, has matured,—so I believe,—in Germany, in the Hohenzollern Dynasty as obsessed by its historic motive

which has now become a purpose to lay hold of universal and a masterful sovereignty over humankind.

So, I dare the assertion that, confronted by the present portentous international conflict, all peoples who love personal and civil liberty and are seeking political self-government, especially the people of the great American Democracy, could do nothing that would be wiser or more prudent than to arouse themselves to the danger that has appeared, and at once to make themselves ready to meet it ; to defeat it,—if need be ;—and even to help in its destruction. Let all free men and women, to this end remember, and remember with a new comprehension, the profound injunction which Abraham Lincoln, at the summit of his career as President of the American Union, gave to his fellow citizens on the battle-field at Gettysburg :—

“ Our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation,—dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

We are met on a great battle field,—to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live.—In a larger sense we cannot dedicate ; we cannot consecrate ; we cannot hallow this ground.—It is for us, the living rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on ;—that from these honored dead we take increased devo-

tion to the cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion ; that we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain ; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

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